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ABSTRACT

This paper is divided into three main sections. The first part focuses attention on an examination of Japanese training techniques and analyzes issues relating to the internationalization of Japanese institutions and the reverse movement of American institutions to Japan. Companies from both countries are compared, and differences in approach and emphasis are noted. The second part of the paper examines the general questions of educational competitiveness, addressing the subjects of social studies and foreign languages in the United States and Japan, with emphasis on the problems of foreign language deficits. These subjects and mathematics, science, and native language are examined on the basis of an article published in January 1987, in a major U.S. news magazine comparing performance of schools in Britain, the United States, Japan, France, West Germany, and the Soviet Union. Each country was rated by 22 education experts, and their judgments are commented upon. The third part of the paper focuses on geography as a forgotton subject in the assessment of social studies, with implications for the field of comparative education research. Experts were incorrect in placing the United States ahead of Japan in the areas of social studies and foreign languages. Concluding the paper are 46 endnotes and 2 appendices containing statistical data. (WTH)

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Education and Training

in

Japan and the United States:

An Assessment

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This paper is divided into three main sections, one part will center attention on an examination of Japanese training techniques and analyze issues relating to the internationalization of Japanese institutions and the reverse movement of American institutions to Japan.

A second area of concern examines the general question of education competitiveness. All too often this discussion revolves around mathematics and the sciences. It is my intention to address two subjects that are rarely looked at: the status of social studies and foreign languages in the U.S. and Japan. Recently, an article published by U.S.News and World Report in its January 19, 1987 issue devoted several pages to the performance of schools in Britain, U.S. Japan, France, West Germany, and the U.S.S.R. in five subject areas: mathematics, science, native language, social studies, and foreign language.1 Twenty-two comparative education experts rated each country and these judgments deserve an extensive commentary. (See, Appendix A)2

In making an assessment of social studies, the status of geography as a forgotten subject in the United States will be examined. This topic has implications not only for social studies, but also the field of comparative education research; the acquisition of foreign language skills and enrollment patterns in several American states lead this author to the conclusion that in the case of both social studies and foreign languages the experts queried were wrong in placing the United States ahead of Japan. 3

Both of the conclusions cited speak more to the biases of the experts than reflecting the actual status of these subjects. 4

The arrival of Japanese industries in the American heartland is not accidental, but is a result of many factors including the recent increase in the value of the yen relative to the U.S. dollar, a rise of protectionist sentiments and the willingness of states and municipalities to partly underwrite the costs of relocation of foreign subsidiaries to their jurisdictions.
The phenomenon of transplanting American institutions to Japan and the reverse movement of Japanese corporations to North America has had an impact on the psyche of both nations.

Japanese Internationalization

The Japanese have always been conscious of racial and cultural differences between themselves and others, it is epitomized in the Japanese word for foreigner gaijiin or outsider which is applied indiscriminately to Occidentals regardless of nationality whether German, American, French or Argentinean. Yet, the Japanese have realized through their dependence on exports that they must internationalize their educational institutions. Thus, a new international university has been created in the Hokuriku region near Niigata in 1983.5 The purpose for the founding of this post-graduate institution is to train a new cadre of international managers utilizing the fields of business, foreign languages, politics, economics, and area studies. The curriculum is divided geographically into North American Studies, Asia and the Middles East.6 The students

meeting the strict admission criteria represent a new breed of Japanese businessmen who will in the future become familiar with every aspect of the host countries' culture before relocation overseas for protracted periods of service.

Subsidies for this special international university are provided by large Japanese multinationals who have a special interest in operating foreign subsidiaries. The extent of the Japanese presence in the United States seems to be accelerating. In the state of Ohio alone, there are already sixty resident Japanese firms ranging in size from the North American Headquarters of Honda in Marysvile to small automobile suppliers; it is anticipated that 7,000 persons will be employed by Japanese companies by the end of 1986 even though Ohio does nct rank in the top tier of states with Japanese subsidiaries.

A definite pattern in the relocation of Japanese firms seems to have emerged. Automobile, steel and other heavy industries have selected the Great Lakes States and Ohio Valley as their preferred industrial locations with each company selecting a different state for its major manufacturing facility. Thus, Honda chose Ohio, Toyota is to build a major auto plant is Kentucky near Lexington, Mazda selected a site just south of Detroit in Flat Rock, Michigan; Subaru chose Lafayette, Indiana; Mitsubishi, Rockford, Illinois; and Nissan, Smyrna, Tennessee.7

By relocating to different states, the Japanese can maximize their political clout in Congress and at the same time partly offset protectionist sentiments. One cannot help but note the

Japanese prefer rural or small town environments where labor has traditionally not been organized and the percentage of racial minorities is historically much lower than national averages. The pattern of service industries is more complex and taking the country as a whole, California leads in Japanese subsidiaries with 153 followed by Georgia, Texas, New Jersey and Illinois in that order.

The Japanese appear to have devoted careful attention to the preparation of supervisory personnel for foreign subsidiaries. NEC, a large computer and electronics company has established a campus-like facility outside Tokyo for overseas training. Of course, great stress is any relocation training program is placed on the acquisition of host language fluency. Prospective overseas managers who must use English are given intensive language instruction twelve hours per day; the course is so intensive that teachers are replaced every few days because of the hectic pace of this type of immersion program.8 Students must pay fines every time they revert to Japanese. NEC also sponsors 162 courses especially for wives who have special concerns about their own adjustment to life abroad as well as anticipating the much publicized problems faced by kikoku shijo or children of transplanted overseas Japanese.9 10

These kinds of preparations are characteristic of the Japanese approach to potential problems which is to anticipate and thoroughly prepare. Since Japanese companies promise their employees lifelong employment, this human resource investment is

possible because the company and employee are bonded together in an oya-bun-kobun relationship with mutual obligations. The employee espouses loyalty and commitment to the company. In return, he is given lifetime security and special benefits far beyond what an American employer ordinarily expects.11 In their orientation programs, role playing is a mechanism often used to accustom Japanese managers to Western values in the art of negotiation or how to say no to a foreigner. In Japan, group decision making and protracted discussions between clients and customers are common place, but in the US and elsewhere overseas, these practices are often viewed as indecisive and can cause misunderstanding and friction.

In comparison to the Japanese, the American companies do not as a rule place such strong emphasis on preparation for overseas assignments. There are a number of explanations for differences in approach. First, Americans as a rule regardless of occupation do not see themselves as wedded for life to any single firm. A large corporate investment in any single individual could result in that person changing jobs in order to gain additional compensation through enhanced opportunities. Beyond that, Americans rely heavily on graduate business schools rather than in-house training facilities for upgrading the skills of international managers. Unfortunately, foreign language acquisition is usually not a pre-requisite for graduation from the most eminent M.B.A. programs; the assumption is continuously made that English fluency is sufficient to conduct business

overseas regardless of location or cultural affinity.

Language Deficits

Yet, lack of language acquisition is one of the most critical factors along with short-term assignments inhibiting the effectiveness of Americans in Japan. Yet, language obstacles are rarely identified as a variable preventing American penetration of Japanese domestic markets.

This view is linked to the American perception of foreign languages and the rise and fall of languages which relates to immigration patterns. Foreign language enrollments in American public schools have reached their all-time highs. Since the late 1950's, there has been a steady and almost dramatic upsurge in the percentages of American youth studying a foreign language in junior and senior high schools. For example, in Fall, 1959 only 4 per cent of students in Mississippi high schools studied a foreign language (See, Appendix B); the highest percentage in the same year was New York State with 30 per cent (See, Appendix B).12

Even states with high percentages of foreign-born residents could claim only 20 per cent of high school age youth in foreign language classes as in the case of Illinois. In Ohio, only 15 per cent were enrolled in a foreign language class and in Iowa and Hawaii it was under 10 per cent.13 Higher enrollment in foreign languages has been a gradual and evolving process, but with imperfect results. As early as the 1950's, Spanish replaced French as our first foreign language. Since then, it

has greatly solidified its position. The range of students state by state studying a foreign language in high schools varied form 2 to 36 percent in 1959.14

In comparison, during the 1985-86 school year, over 45 per cent of high school youth in New York State were studying a second language; this figure represents a sharp increase form the 1976-77 academic year when slightly more that one-third were enrolled.15

While this aspect of the internationalization of the school curricula in New York is heartening, another problem no less serious has emerged. In Grades 9-12, 28 per cent of all enrolles study Spanish, 11.4 per cent of students selected French: all other commonly taught languages accounted for about 5 percent of the entire language enrollment.16 German has become an exotic language in New York with an enrollment of only 1.5 per cent. Italian accounts for only 2.5 per cent of all enrollees and Latin 1.7 per cent.17 Spanish is the dominant language with approximate 60 per cent of the total enrollment.18

At the junior high school level Grades 7 and 8 in New York, Spanish and French combined account for 90 per cent of the enrollment. Thus, the early introduction of foreign languages in New York State contributes to language imbalances further strengthening the role of Spanish and French as America's first and second languages. Moreover, Spanish has increased its overall hold on the curriculum: from 17.7 per cent in 1976-77 to 25.8 per cent at Grade 7 in the 1985-86 year. In Grades 9-12,

the increase during the time span was from 20 per cent to 29 per cent. The combined enrollments in German, Russian, Italian, Hebrew was 3.3 per cent compared to 44.4 per cent studying French and Spanish: a ratio of approximately 15:1.

Although the overall percentages were somewhat different in the state of Illinois, the general pattern was similar. Of the total number of 139,111 enrolled in the 1981-82 academic year studying a language, 111,000 had chosen French or Spanish, Spanish enrollments were more than double those of French, 76,000 compared to 35,000.19 Unlike New York, German retained a little less that 15 per cent of the enrollment and this reflects the remnants of a German ethnic identity in Illinois. Italian enrollments were under 2,000 which also represents a manifestation of ethnic loyalties.20 Yet, one must be cautious about attributing language choice to ethnic background in the determination of language choice. Persons of Spanish and French ancestry still constitute small percentages of the school population far below the 60 per cent or more in Illinois or New York that chose these languages. At the junior high school level in Illinois, 19,000 of 23,000 students chose Spanish and French with Spanish outnumbering French 2 1/2 to 1.21

Immigration

The current popularity of Spanish compared to all other languages is based on many variables including a certain amount of misinformation on the part of the parents and students who are making a key curricula choice. A large percentage of immigrants

arriving in the United State whether legal or illegal have their origins in Spanish-speaking countries and a range of bi-lingual human services professionals are needed to meet the needs of these individuals. But there is a larger talent pool available for speakers of Spanish compared to Cantonese speakers, Vietnamese, Portuguese and other less commonly taught language groups who are even more underserved. Further, the introduction of employee sanctions under the new immigration law combined with the steady rise in the percentage of Asian immigrants has not translated into a movement to hire bilingual specialists for Tagalog, Chinese or Korean speakers. Asians now account for nearly half of legal immigrants to the United States in the 1980-85 reporting period. Yet, in New York State with its growing Asian population less than 1,500 students were studying Mandarin Chinese or Cantonese during the 1985-86 school year, the number studying Japanese hovered around the 1,000 mark, 184 students studied Korean in 1985-86 and only 15 Portuguese.22

In comparison, 378,000 in the same reporting year studied Spanish in New York State. Undoubtedly, large Asian immigrant communities in New York City and environs cannot be granted the same Lau guarantees as those whose native language is Spanish; what is perplexing is the lack of a public outcry about disparities in the delivery of human services to linguistic groups that represent minorities within a minority. The fact that relatively small percentages of Asian immigrants are in this country illegally adds a touch of irony to the issue. The groups

that have waited extended periods of time for their visas, appear less likely to receive support services from federal, state, and local agencies that are empowered to treat all groups equally. Bi-lingual programs in which English speakers are introduced to a foreign language in the junior high school years exacerbates the problem because if a youngster begins Spanish he or she is likely to continue in that language in high school and college.

The perception of the particular ethnic group toward language assistance is another factor to weigh. East Asians as a group have not demanded that Korean or Chinese be introduced in their local schools relying instead on the home and after school language programs to inculcate language and cultural traditions. While there are obvious divisions in each ethnic community, Spanish-speakers have been far more supportive of bi-lingual programs repeating the example of German-American at the turn of the century who demanded bi-lingual education for their children.23

Educational Remedies

What complicates this situation further is the educational disparities that immigrants bring with them to the United States. Spanish-speakers do not constitute a single entity except they speak a common language. Of all legal immigrants entering this country from 1975-80, Cubans reported 11 years of schooling completed which was close to the average for all immigrants, other Latin Americans claimed 11.5 years, Mexican immigrants ranked at the bottom of all major groups with just 6.8 years of

schooling.24 Thus, the demands for a range of human services is a realistic response based on educational deficiencies brought to this country from Mexico, it does not apply as much to other Latinos who must compete more rigorously for immigration places while Mexicans rely primarily on family reunification which accords them a more advantageous visa position.

Since many public schools lack imagination in curricula planning, the greatest potential for growth in Asian language enrollments must occur at the college level rather that in the high schools or junior high schools. One of the corrective steps taken to correct language imbalances is the establishment of branch campuses in Japan by several of our most prestigious colleges including Columbia, Brown, Cornell, Harvard, Michigan, Stanford, Princeton, and Yale.25 Although the list is a long and impressive one, the number of potential enrolles is only thirty students per year, hardly adequate enough number to fill an on-going language void not only in industry, but also teaching and research.26

Conversely, the establishment and development of branch campuses in Japan catering to an overwhelmingly local clientele may offer more potential. Temple University founded a branch campus with an enrollment of 1,000 Japanese; it is appealing to non-traditional Japanese students, children of overseas Japanese, Japanese women and others who for one reason or another may prefer the American system of higher education.27 Of course, the disadvantages that accrue to Japanese with a degree from a

foreign university may be considerable. They are not part of the school tie or gakkubatsu network, it is not clear yet how Japanese companies would accept such a degree. In the past, they have always rated Japanese universities in terms of a rigid hierarchy with Tokyo University, Kyoto University ranking at the top in the public sector, Keio and Waseda carry the most prestige in the private school domain. In a more internationally-minded Japan, language skills, knowledge of foreign customs and traditions could be highly valued so that these institutions may fill a necessary void on the Japanese side. In terms of international trade and finance, the Pacific Basin countries rank first in value of trade after Canada, Western Europe ranks second followed by Latin America. Unfortunately, there are few voices demanding a change in language choices available and even if this were to occur the number of teachers who are fluent in Japanese, Chinese, Russian, Italian, or German is limited.

Despite the fact that most western and eastern European languages are becoming exotic languages, the curricula trend is toward more concentration in Spanish and French not less. An important deterrent to change is the myth that most Europeans and Japanese speak fluent English. East Germany is a nation where few people speak English yet it is the leading economic power among the Warsaw Bloc nations after the USSR. Further, 50 per cent of all Soviet children study English, 30 per cent study German which is not an inconsequential figure. After Russian, in Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, German is still the dominant foreign

language, not English.

In making comparisons between the international competitiveness of Japan and the United States, too little attention has focused on language expertise. The Japanese are not for the most past conversant in spoken English. The methods of teaching used in Japan stress grammar and translation rather than English conversational skills. The reason for this bias is the emphasis the Japanese place on preparation for entrance exams which cannot accurately assess conversational abilities. To fill this gap, a wide array of foreign language part-time and evening schools have sprung up in nearly every major Japanese city.

Cross-Cultural Educational Comparisons

Recently, science and mathematics have been increasingly utilized as a basis for making educational comparisons between countries. Thomas Rohlen of Stanford University claims that half the Japanese high school graduates know as much as the average U.S. college graduate. For example, only 6 per cent of U.S. youth study calculus in high school; moreover, Japan produces nearly 10 per cent more engineers as the U.S. even with half the population.28

Americans are a pragmatic people currently worried about trade policies, high unemployment rates and international competitiveness. The failings of the public school system is beginning to have an impact on the national conscience forcing Americans to reconsider the effectiveness of their school system in comparison to others. Numerous reports have received national

attention including "The Underachieving Curriculum: Assessing U.S. School Mathematics in International Perspective". This study found that U.S. 13-year-olds were competitive with students elsewhere in computation and other basic skills, but their performance declined well below others in higher learning tasks. American algebra achievement was average, but in geometry the U.S. ranked among the bottom 5 per cent of the nations sampled.

The cause of this dismal performance may rest with the diffusion in curriculum in math; it is thought topics are superficially covered with little intensity.

Another explanation for the superior achievement of Chinese and Japanese with American children is a difference in perceptions towards the school. American parents seem to place a great emphasis on reading before school begins, but once formal schooling gets underway they defer to the school. Americans were also found to place more stress on native ability while the Japanese in emphasize how hard one worked as the major criteria for success. In other words, Americans turned education over to schools while in Japan parents play an active role guiding students and becoming directly involved in schoolwork "encouraging homework and financing tutoring" after students begun formal schooling.29

Of course, benefits accrue to those American children that are classified as being bright, but the downside would be lower expectations for those students placed in low and average ability groups based on teacher observations or tests.

In the 1976-77 academic year, Americans constituted 75 per cent of all first year graduate students in physics. By 1982-83 academic year, this figure had slipped to 60 per cent.30 In the latest reporting year, 1985-86, less than 58 per cent of all incoming physics students were Americans.31

The United States is a mecca for students from less developed countries, and the quality of graduate education offered at the leading American research universities is of world-class calibre. The opportunities for foreigners to remain in the US after graduation is another inducement for matriculation at American graduate schools.

Japanese students who come to the U.S. to study rarely remain and in this sense they are unique compared to other Asians who express a strong interest in staying overseas. The relative political stability of Japan and economic opportunities at home are among a number of contributing factors inducing Japanese to return home.

Japanese graduate education is much weaker than in the U.S. Many Japanese faculty place little emphasis on teaching and few Japanese fail once admitted to college. Since Japanese companies prefer hands-on training, it is not surprising that many Japanese graduate students gravitate to the U.S. for advanced training.

Thus the strength of the Japanese educational system is compressed into grades K - 12. Japanese higher education is desperately in need of reform. Graduate education in Japan schools enrolls only 3 per cent of the total education enrollment

compared to 11 per cent in the U.S.A. These small numbers reflect low priority given to higher education as well as the quality of instruction offered.

The real disparities in ability of Japanese and Americans to profit from training of a technical or scientific nature may rest with the average student rather than the college-bound; the small percentages of American youth that have sufficient math and science backgrounds inhibit adjustment to new technologies because as a group they lack the theoretical knowledge needed. Through lifelong employment and lack of adversarial relationships, Japanese appear better positioned for change. Due to lack of technical background, American workers may be more fearful of change; perhaps,Americans rely more on current hardware and because of job insecurity they may be less willing to accept change especially those who were trained on one type of machine; the tendency not to rotate employees could inhibit the upgrading of skills and retraining.

In examining and commenting on differences, cultural perceptions of Americans my affect how other countries are seen:

"Many U.S. educators, even those who admire Japan's feats say they would not want their own children to go through what Japanese students endure. Others argue that, because of cultural differences, there's little the U.S. might borrow from Japan's education mainly a land with one race, one language, one core of commonly held beliefs and values".32

But there is a difference in how criticism is accepted and digested. Japanese have historically used self-examination for criticizing their own mistakes. Americans like other Westerners tend to gloss over inadequacies while usually disclaiming personal responsibility for errors in judgment.

The reaction to World War II is a classic case of cultural differences. The Japanese with a historic tradition of borrowing and adaptation welcomed for the most part SCAP education reforms. Germans as an occupied country often resisted reforms in the Western zones where self-expression was possible. Recently, twenty-two experts on comparative education were queried about the strengths of the major industrial nations in various curricula areas. It is hard to believe they rated Japan below the U.S. in foreign language teaching.

There is almost universal study of foreign languages in the Japanese schools, the same cannot be said of American schools. As pointed out earlier, Japanese are learning the same languages as their major trade partners: English, French and Spanish are being offered along with Chinese and German in the universities. But the quality of instruction is abysmally poor and this is why Japan tends to rate low on international comparisons. But the U.S. should be rated at the very bottom in the teaching of languages because many American teachers do not possess minimal oral conversational skills. The appropriateness of the language studied was apparently not considered and this is a serious flaw. The Japanese can utilize English in establishing trade

relationships with Southeast Asia, Middle East, North America and parts of Western Europe. Spanish is not a major world commercial language because Latin countries are underdeveloped.

Another outcome of lack of language expertise is that the technical literature published for the domestic market of Japan, goes largely unreported in the United States because it is not translated into English. Thus, the language deficit contributes to a technology and knowledge gap between Japan and the United States. There are a few remedies on the horizon that can be implemented.

However, the experts are correct in identifying education as an important variable affecting productivity, training and an integral part of international competitiveness.

Social Studies (Geography)

In the same U.S. News and World Report study, social studies, West Germany was listed in first position followed by the United States, Britain, U.S.SR, Japan and France in that order. (Appendix D)33 But no one familiar with American social studies education should accept these findings as being valid or fair.

Since the criteria in which each country is being rated was not identified, journalistic studies of this type may make for interesting popular reading, but they clearly have e serious built-in deficiencies. For example, having an understanding of one's own country's history may be a major factor determining effectiveness of instruction in the U.S. and could have affected

the results.

But in all the countries listed except the United States geography is one of the major components in the social studies curricula. How can the United States rate ahead of Britain, U.S.SR, Japan and France when all these other nations not only offer geography, but make it a mandatory and essential part of the curriculum.

The problem may lie with the values of comparative educators who do not have a geographic background themselves and therefore do not regard it as a highly valued skill or a necessary and integral part of the social sciences curricula. Teachers of social studies in the United States ordinarily come to the classroom with training in history and government and in many states no special pre-requisites exist for teaching geography beyond a course or two in physical geography or other elementary geography courses. In order to claim any degree of knowledge of geography, students would have to begin to recognize and master map skills by Grade 3:

> "Students should be able to locate and describe major geographical features and regions and how they change through time. They should concentrate on American geography and the use of more complex maps. In high school they should be offered a range of course in political, historical, cultural and economic geography."34

In Britain, one can do O levels and A levels in geography and in the Soviet Union geography shares with history an important place in the social studies curriculum yet, both nations ranked behind the United States in the opinion of the

comparative education experts.

Bill Honig, Superintendent of Public Instruction in California, certainly an authoritative figure on contemporary American education offered the opinion: "You have to realize how bad the situation is. Our students are more illiterate in geography than anything else".35

Unlike all other countries listed in the U.S. News and World Report study, geography is taught in the U.S. as an integrated subject with the social studies. The crux of the problem is that geography is not taught as a separate subject and it not only affects geography, but other social sciences as well. As long as the subject is divided into bits and pieces of geographic knowledge taught by those trained in education, history, political science, or a hodge-podge of other social sciences this situation will continue. According to the American Association of American Geographer, at least 90 per cent of those teaching geography have inadequate training.

Comparative Education Research Geography

The results of this gap in U.S. education has a direct bearing on the field of comparative education because many comparative educators are engaged in cross-national research on other countries. Geographic factors so essential in making in-depth cross-cultural analysis are frequently missing. Nearly all comparative educators whether self-identified as sociologists, economists, historians or political scientists do not have a thorough geographic or linguistic training.

The vacuum created affects the type of research that is produced. Rarely does regional analysis in educational findings appear in the literature. Countries are continuously treated as if they are single entities when in reality they consist of many different regions with widely varying geographic features that affect all of the factors usually incorporated into research findings. Even within a small geographic area whether a state, city or school district, geographic differences are often overlooked or given insufficient weight.

Yet, even those comparative educators who argued for more attention to geographic factors have treated the subject in a limited and physical way. These include George Bereday and Vernon Mallinson, among others.36

Brock in his piece on the relationship between comparative education and geography points out the fault is not entirely with comparative educators. This analogy is not applicable to North Americans except for Canadians because geography has played a more vital role in the Canadian school curricula. According to Brock, the image of the geographical factor as outdated is at least the fault of geographers as it is of comparativists.37 Despite the widespread utilization of land for educational purposes, very few geographers have been stimulated to apply modern techniques of spatial and locational analysis to these phenomena. It is not surprising therefore, that geography is viewed by many educators almost exclusively in physical terms, and even then scenic images predominate. Consequently, the

geographical factor is seen as a constant whereas in reality it is continually changing in temporal as well as in spatial terms".38

This evaluation might in part explain why geography is all but ignored by comparativists. In summary, it is a combination of lack of training, bias in favor of sociology and other social science disciplines and a clear misunderstanding of what geography is about.39 When geography is mentioned it is done in purely physical terms. When regions are described it is as if the relationship between man and the environment is a constant variable. These distortions contribute to deficient cross-cultural comparisons. The research that appears in comparative education periodicals must therefore focus by definition on such non-geographic topics as planning, social stratification, upward mobility. But the question must be raised: What meanings do these studies have when regional and local differences are overlooked and the methodology to answer these questions is not evident?

Of all nations, Japan is a homogenous nation where 99.9 per cent of all residents are ethnically Japanese. But even in the case of Japan, regional differences are present, but rarely mentioned in educational literature at least in English.

The success rate of those entering Tokyo University are described based on entrance to and from highly prestigious schools. We do not have a geographic breakdown by prefecture, city by city and neighborhood by neighborhood.

Internationalization

MIT received hundreds of Japanese researchers and is a kind of finishing school for Japanese company personnel. The Japanese are following this up with substantial grants to MIT and other selected institutions. Estimates of the value of these grants are somewhere between 50 and 100 million dollars annually. 40

Beginning in 1983, MIT sent 20 students to study at such institutions as Kobe University. Nippon Steel, Sony Corp. A similar program is underway at North Carolina State University and the University of Wisconsin.41 Japanese companies welcome U.S. visitors and now desire more international contacts; they fear closed doors will encourage protectionism.42 But this welcome has limits. In 1983, the Japanese have adopted a vigorous policy of internationalization of graduate education. Graduate education was singled out rather than undergraduate because they were more likely to attract foreign students. In 1984, only 0.8 per cent of all undergraduate students were foreigners compared to 6 per cent at the graduate level. In the U.S., the percentage of foreign students is estimated at 8 per cent.

In the U.S., over 54 per cent of the Ph.D.'s granted in engineering are foreigners.43 In Japan, foreigners were concentrated in agriculture and engineering with 19 and 16 per cent. But most of the foreigners in Japan were from less developed Third World countries in east and southeast Asia not Americans or Europeans. Another difference is that most foreign

students are located in national universities; private universities are not significant as host institutions. Of course, the major barrier to studying in Japan is language facility. Foreign students in Japan have to learn the Japanese language after enrollment. Most foreign students travel to Japan to obtain doctorate degrees. Since graduate education is considered weak by American or west European standards, the only category of persons who would be motivated to enroll would be Asians or those from Africa and the Middle East. Programs to internationalize Japanese education have not as yet succeeded in attracting Westerners, but they will be more attractive to Asians especially Koreans and Chinese from Hong Kong, Taiwan or Southeast Asia. The cost of living in Japan is now prohibitive; isolation, undesirable living conditions and lack of job opportunities after graduation make Japan less attractive than North America.

Japan intends to internationalize its universities by inviting foreign faculty for short periods of time. To permanently relocate to Japan is not viable because foreigners generally do not enjoy the same advantages as Japanese faculty. Foreigners are still not fully accepted by colleagues nor can they expect to easily fit into Japanese society even after acquiring language proficiency.

Thus, many Japanese academicians have ambivalent feelings about internationalizing their institutions and awarding foreigners tenure. There are few foreign tenured faculty at

Japanese universities; the practice of finger printing foreign nationals even those who have been resident in Japan are further deterrents to internationalization.

On this side of the Pacific, all sorts of excuses have been rendered for the inability to compete and the most frequently used phrase is that "we are not playing on a level field" meaning the Japanese somehow are not giving American products fair access. Unfortunately, there is truth in this allegation. Perhaps, as important are the educational deficiencies inherent in a school system that must simultaneously meet the needs of youth that have severe learning problems as well as those who are academically talented and unlike Japan there are significant cultural differences among the school population. The task of simultaneously developing talent among all segments seems to be a virtual impossibility. Americans also have high expectations which create further disappointment and disillusionment.

The competitiveness of the U.S. with Japan and other countries may decline in the future. As a nation, we will have to rely increasingly on foreign nationals to staff university engineering and technical programs. These are not new developments. Foreigners in the 1930's had a positive impact on our nuclear energy programs far out of proportion to their numbers.

However, we may have to emulate Canada and Australia in providing immigration preferences to those with capital or educational skills that are needed by a larger society hungry for

technical expertise. As it is, family reunification including the limitless sponsorship of brothers, and sisters has created a three tier immigration system, a small number of highly developed professionals with skills, a larger number with secondary schooling completed and relatives here and a large underclass of illegal immigrants. Since nearly one-third of the U.S. population growth is attributed to immigration, this issue is not insignificant. It further impacts on language choices because western and eastern Europeans have been effectively eliminated along with Africa as sources of immigration. Asians and the Western hemisphere countries now account well over 80 per cent of all legal immigrants; the percentage from Europe has receded to under 15 per cent. These figures mean that our ties to Europe are loosening at least measured by those with relatives on the other side of the Atlantic. It paves the way for the 1990's being the decade of the Pacific. This is already happening in the market place. But the school districts and colleges that will lead the way in effecting needed curricula changes are the elite institutions that appear to be more aware of these developments. The Japanese who tend to view all institutions foreign and domestic in terms of academic reputation will be comfortable with the American Universities that are likely to offer extensive Japanese studies programs. These are the same universities that have welcomed successive generations of Japanese students to their campuses. The prominence of MIT and Berkeley in Japan is not an accidental occurrence nor is it

coincidence that Japanese investments in banks, real estate, and capital are concentrated in California and the Boston-Washington corridor. After all, this is where so many executives attended collegeor graduate school. Since the 1950's, the Great Lakes cities and states have replaced the West Coast as the new centers of anti-Japanese and anti-Asian sentiments.44

Summary

As yet, there is very little empirical data available about internal problems confronting Japanese subsidiaries in the United States. The Japanese training techniques that have been utilized in the United States are similar to those in Japan with some allowances for local conditions and these include: a partly Japanese supervisory staff, the selection and temporary relocation of selected employees for orientation in Japan; training also involves a kind of bonding between employee-employer and has its goal imbuing employees with the Japanese virtues of dedication, self-discipline, and loyalty.

These desired characteristics often conflict with Western notions of independence and career mobility. But Japanese companies also bring with them lifelong employment and a reward system large based on age and seniority. These latter concepts are not unappealing to American workers. In comparison to other employers, what seems to set the Japanese apart is their determination to be successful and a careful attention to details, moreover, there is a willingness to compromise taking

into account cultural and language differences. All too often the American response has been mixed. While welcoming foreign investments in their communities, they explain the inability to compete successfully with all sorts of excuses including blaming the opposition somehow for their own success. The concept of scapegoating has periodically characterized Japanese-American relations. In the pre-war years, this led to Alien Land Laws which were passed in most western states. In this generation, anti-Asian sentiment seems to have shifted geographically from the Pacific Coast where it had its origins in this country to the Great Lakes and other areas that have been hit hardest by Japanese imports. Instead of meeting this challenge head on the Japanese have put their hopes on U.S. investments to alter popular opinion. They have not diverted foundations and university grant monies to states where anti-Japanese feelings are strongest.

Summary - Educational Research

In making cross-cultural comparisons educational researchers have devoted little attention to the teaching of social studies and foreign languages. Training that takes place in non-traditional settings is another neglected area of comparative education research. For each of the above, an explanation can be offered for these gaps in information; perhaps the most serious oversight in this authors view is the current status of foreign languages in American schools.

Of course, this is particularly a rural rather than urban

problem and there are wide regional and local variations. But nowhere is the imbalance more evident than in Alabama where in 1984 only one-third of all rural schools offered any foreign languages in grades 9-12 whereas in urban schools 90 per cent taught at least one other language in high school.45
Lower salaries contribute to these distortions as well as a failure to see a relationship between the study of another language and economic benefits that might accrue to the area. As a continental nation, American ethnocentrism must also be considered; the remnants of anti-foreign sentiments and the false notion that English is all that is required in interpersonal communication contribute to these deficits.

The lack of any coherent national policy to train foreign language teachers in either commonly or uncommonly taught language is yet another variable. Thus far, whatever corrective steps that have been taken are largely a result of state initiatives. In Tennessee, a special Foreign Language Institute has been established to coordinate foreign language instruction as an instrument for attracting overseas investments and tourism to the state. Additionally, the Institute will try to improve the pedagogical techniques used in teaching languages.46

The State of Tennessee apparently recognizes linkages between language and foreign investment. Whether this represents the beginning of a national pattern remains to be seen. The Japanese who are major investors in Tennessee and elsewhere have not significantly supported the introduction of Japanese in U.S. high

schools. This omission could be intentional because larger numbers of bi-lingual foreigners would dissipate the overseas competitive linguistic edge the Japanese now have over Americans and other foreigners.

1. US News and World Report, January 19, 1987.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. For an excellent analysis of geography and its contribution to regional analysis see, for example, Colin Clarke, David Cey, Ceri Peach (eds.), Geography and Ethnic Pluralism. London: Allen and Irwin, 1984.

5. The Chronicle of Higher Education, January 14, 1987. The site of this international university may be attributed to political considerations because it was the home district of an important Liberal Democratic Party faction leader.

6. Ibid.

7. The New York Times, February 15, 1987. It is estimated that several thousand Japanese nationals have relocated to southeast Michigan and that there are 15,000 Japanese citizens on temporary assignment in the Midwest twice the number ten years ago.

8. The Wall Street Journal, January 12, 1987.

9. Ibid.

10. To attract more Japanese companies to relocate, Ohio and Illinois have proposed establishing Japanese schools K-12. The schools would follow Japanese school calendar and curriculum. See Cleveland Plain Dealer, July 29, 1986 for the details now under consideration by Governor Richard Celeste of Ohio. A detailed discussion of overseas returned to Japan can be found in Tetsuya Kobayashi, "Educational Problems for Returning Children in Japan" in Education and Social Concern: An Approach to Social Foundations. Lawson, Rust and Shafer (eds.), Ann Arbor: Prakken Publications, 1987, pp.205-213.

11. William Brown, "Japanese Management: The Cultural Background", in Japanese Culture and Behavior. T. Lebra and William Lebra (eds.), Honolulu: University Of Hawaii Press pp. 175-189.

12. William Parker, "The National Interest and Foreign Languages," Third Edition, Washington: U.S. Department of State, 1962, pp. 26-27.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. "Foreign Language Enrollments In the Schools of New York State", Albany: New York State Education Department, Bureau of Foreign Language Education, 1986.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. Illinois Secondary School Course Offerings: Special Report on Foreign Languages. Springfield: Illinois State Board of Education, August, 1984. p. 26.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. New York State Education Department, Bureau of Foreign Languages Education,p. 9. See, also statistics collected by Ohio Department of Education, "Languages in Grades 7-12, 1983-84-1985-86". Ohio reported fewer than 159 students, 1985-86, studying Chinese in the second year.

23. For more information on the German-American bi-lingual effort, see, my article "Ethnicity and Foreign Language References", published in the Australian journal Education and Society. (April, 1986) Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 69-76

24. The New York Times, December 21, 1986.

25. The Chronicle of Higher Education, January 14, 1987.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. U.S. News and World Report, January 19, 1987.

29. The New York Times, January 11, 1987, p.10.

30. Investors Daily, January 19, 1987, p.36.

31. Ibid.

32. U.S. News and World Report, January 19, 1987.

33. Ibid.

34. The Cleveland Plain Dealer, January 11, 1987.

35. Ibid.

36. Colin Brock, Comparative Education and the Geographic Factor in Contemporary Issues in Comparative Education, Keith Watson and Raymond Wilson (eds.), London: Croom Held, 1985, p. 148.

37. Ibid., pp. 148-149.

38. Ibid., the quotation was based on a paper originally presented to the Conference of the British Educational Research Association in 1982 at St. Andrews.

39. William Mayo, "The Development of Secondary School Geography As An Independent Subject In the United States and Canada." Ph.D. Dissertation., The University of Michigan, 1984. Mayo points out that when geography is integrated with other social studies subjects as in the United States it almost always loses out to history and government which dominate the field.

40. The Wall Street Journal, January 23, 1987.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. T. Yamada, "Internationalization of Japanese Graduate Schools - A Report of a National Survey of Graduate Schools," Japan National Institute for Educational Research, Unpublished Manuscript, March 12, 1986.

44. The New York Times, February 15, 1987. The Japanese relocating have been given a mixed reception.

45. Christian J. Faltis, "Addressing Alabama's Foreign Language Needs," Capstone Journal of Education, Vol. VI, Number 1, Summer/Fall, 1985, pp. 32-38.

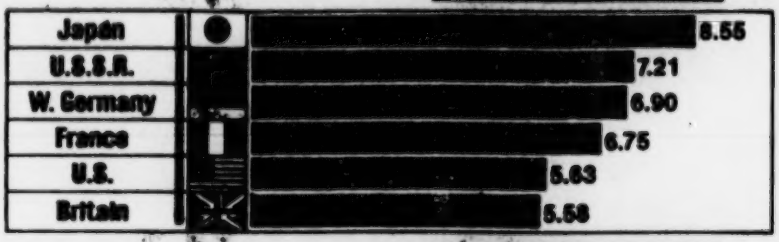
46. The Chronicle of Higher Education, March 4, 1987 (Job announcement).

THE EDUCATION RACE

WHO'S AT THE HEAD OF THE CLASS

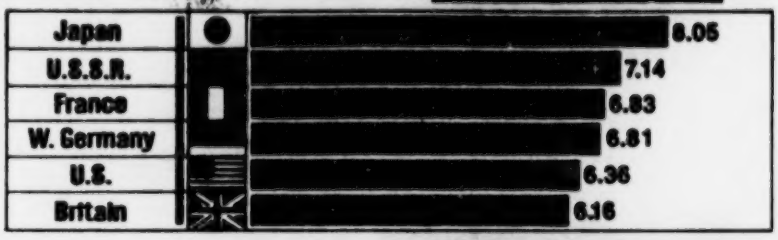
"On a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 the best, how would you rate the jobs the elementary and secondary schools of these countries do in these subjects?" *U.S. News* put that question to 22 experts on comparative education. Twelve of the scholars are based in the United States, the others in Western Europe and Japan. Here's how the nations stacked up—

MATHEMATICS



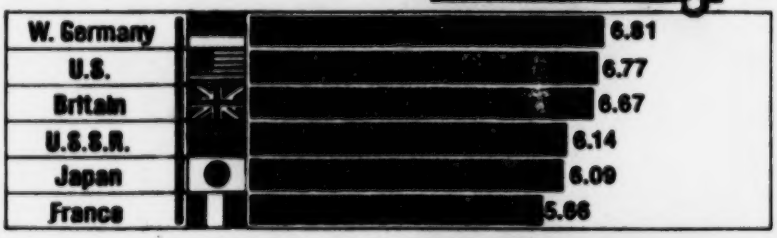
Remarks: Japanese high-school students take more advanced math—including calculus—than most American college students. . . . The Soviets are making instruction in computer use mandatory for all students. . . . In France, the routes to prestige and power are through the study of mathematics and science, not law and politics.

SCIENCE



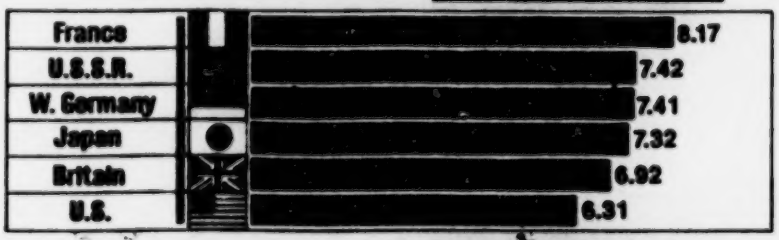
Remarks: The Japanese know how to inspire curiosity in kids about the way things work. . . . France, West Germany and the Soviet Union all require four years of chemistry, biology and physics. . . . Prime Minister Thatcher has warned that for Britain to survive, there must be fewer people reading classics and more studying science.

SOCIAL STUDIES



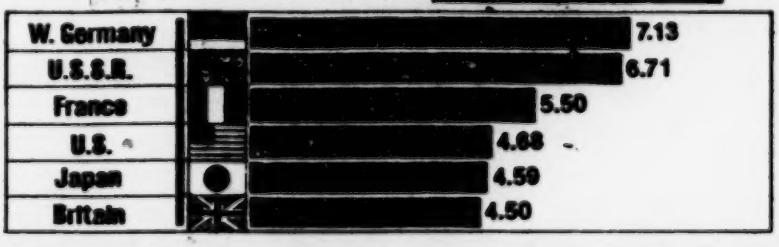
Remarks: West Germans are acutely conscious of their past. . . . All Soviet children participate in political education, studying the life of Lenin and Communist ideology. . . . In France, students worried about jobs have abandoned the humanities, which used to be called "the royal way."

OWN LANGUAGE



Remarks: France is obsessed with the importance of the French language for maintaining national identity. . . . School is taught in 42 different native languages in the Soviet Union, but all students must also learn Russian. . . . West Germany, like the United States, is struggling with many non-native-language students.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE



Remarks: All students in West Germany must take four to eight years of English. . . . Teachers in Japan lack experience speaking English; many read Shakespeare aloud in an incomprehensible accent . . . Since so few Americans read Japanese, Japan's scientific discoveries often go unreported in the United States.

PERCENTAGES OF PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS OFFERING MODERN FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Figures show the situation in fall 1959 as compared with 1954 (parentheses following).

100.0	Del. (94.1), *D.C. (70.6)*, Mass. (95.2), R.I. (100.0)	66.4	Idaho (33.3)
		65.2	Colo. (49.1)
99.6	N.J. (100.0)	64.2	La. (26.7)
98.8	Calif. (97.6)	62.8	Ill. (54.4)
98.7	Vt. (97.3)	61.9	Fla. (45.3)
97.7	N.H. (94.6)	*60.0*	*U.S.A. (43.6)*
95.4	Wash. (62.8)	54.8	W. Va. (39.5)
95.1	Ariz. (88.3)	47.5	Ky. (19.5)
94.4	Maine (100.0)	46.3	Ind. (24.5)
93.7	N.Y. (87.1)	43.9	Mont. (21.3)
92.0	Pa. (54.3)	43.0	Minn. (22.9), Wis.
90.7	Conn. (100.0), Md. (75.5), N. Mex. (66.7)	——	Tex. (39.4)
		37.5	Iowa (8.3)
88.7	N.C. (80.1)	36.6	Kans. (19.3)
86.7	Hawaii	35.4	Tenn. (26.6)
86.1	Va. (83.0)	34.5	Alaska
79.4	Nev. (75.0)	31.1	Mo. (21.8)
76.3	S.C. (64.7)	29.0	Ala. (23.0)
75.3	Utah (68.4)	25.1	Nebr. (9.9)
74.4	Oreg. (38.4)	23.8	Ark. (12.9)
69.6	Wyo. (56.3)	22.3	Okla. (10.1)
69.4	Mich. (58.1)	22.1	N. Dak. (4.4)
67.4	Ohio (49.9)	20.5	Miss. (18.1)
66.6	Ga. (42.4)	20.1	S. Dak. (7.6)

length of language instruction is also increasing, more and more high schools making possible 3, 4, or even 6 years of study. They also ignore the significant fact that the total high school population is rising, and is expected to reach 12,395,000 by 1970. If there were no further increase in the popularity of language study, that would mean about 2.5 million (a million more than at present) enrolled in modern foreign language classes.

These figures are worth pondering. Even if all the NDEA Institutes were restricted to *public* and *secondary* school language teachers (elementary school and some private school teachers are now admitted), it would take 6 years of the *maximum* authorization by Congress to give the present crop of teachers the benefit of a single summer of "re-

PERCENTAGE OF U.S. PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL POPULATION ENROLLED IN MODERN FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSES FALL 1959

(Percentages for 1958 and 1954 follow in parentheses.)

66.8	*New York City*	15.2	Wyoming (11.7, 8.8)
39.7	New York (36.5, 30.2)	15.0	Ohio (11.7, 9.7)
37.1	New Jersey (32.7, 28.1)	14.2	Alaska (13.2,[1])
35.0	Rhode Island (32.3, 33.4)	13.2	Kansas (8.5, 2.3)
34.3	Massachusetts (30.3, 30.1)	13.1	Idaho (11.7, 6.6)
34.0	Delaware (22.5, 16.0)	12.9	Michigan (11.3, 8.3)
30.8	California (29.2, 24.0)	12.8	South Carolina (10.6, 9.2)
29.7	New Mexico (27.1, 22.0)	12.5	Montana (9.3, 4.7)
28.7	Arizona (25.1, 21.8)	11.6	Georgia (11.3, 8.8)
26.9	Connecticut (25.0, 23.4)	11.1	Minnesota (7.4, 4.6)
26.9	*District of Columbia (22.2, 21.2)*	10.2	Oklahoma (6.2, 3.9)
24.6	Nevada (23.5, 24.7)	10.1	Indiana (7.9, 5.5)
24.0	Maryland (20.3, 15.7)	9.9	Louisiana (7.3, 11.9)
23.0	New Hampshire (24.2, 19.7)	9.2	Tennessee (7.2, 5.1)
22.2	Washington (17.1, 11.5)	9.0	Wisconsin (9.0, 5.1)
21.8	Vermont (19.7, 14.7)	8.9	Nebraska (8.1, 4.9)
21.7	Colorado (17.4, 14.0)	8.5	Missouri (7.1, 5.9)
21.3	Pennsylvania (18.1, 14.4)	8.1	Hawaii (7.9,[1])
20.1	Illinois (17.8, 14.9)	7.7	Kentucky (5.4, 5.1)
20.1	Maine (21.0, 16.6)	7.4	Alabama (3.8, 2.3)
19.1	*U.S.A. (16.4, 14.2)*	7.1	South Dakota (4.9, 2.2)
18.3	Virginia (13.1, 11.9)	6.7	Iowa (5.2, 3.9)
18.0	Florida (13.1, 10.3)	6.6	West Virginia (5.2, 4.7)
17.3	North Carolina(15.7, 14.2) Texas (15.3, 11.7)	5.1	North Dakota (3.6, 1.9)
		4.7	Arkansas (2.7, 2.8)
16.2	Utah (8.2, 6.6)	3.9	Mississippi (2.0, 2.2)
15.2	Oregon (12.5, 6.1)		

tooling." But new teachers need to be trained in modern methods (as Congress clearly intended), and, if we are (at last) to have longer sequences of instruction, there is critical need to prepare the older generation of language teachers for the job—a problem not of "re-tooling," alas, but rather of giving many of them the adequate education in a modern foreign language which they should have had in the first place, but didn't.

It is an interesting fact that half (51.1 percent) of our high school students of modern foreign languages are studying Spanish, whereas in

[1] In 1954 no figures were available for Alaska and Hawaii.